

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----100023Z 009862 /62  
P 090833Z JUN 77 ZDK  
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 961

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MANILA 8971

EXDIS

FOR HOLBROOKE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SHUM, RP  
SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH MRS. MARCOS

REF: STATE 132963

1. I MET WITH MRS. MARCOS FOR ONE HOUR JUNE 9 AT MY REQUEST MOSTLY TO DISCUSS SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE VISIT OF SECRETARY BERGLAND, AND TO PREVIEW A GRAND PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN GALA WE ARE PROMOTING FOR JULY 4 AND THE MANILA OPENING OF THE ALVIN AILEY DANCE PROGRAM

2. THE FOCUS OF OUR DISCUSSION MOVED FROM SOCIAL EVENTS BACK AND FORTH TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM, PHILIPPINE ATTITUDES TOWARD MARTIAL LAW AND THE U.S., AND HUMAN RIGHTS. I SAID WE WERE WORKING HARD TO IMPROVE PHILIPPINE-AMERICA RELATIONS, AND WHILE THERE WERE FEW CONCRETE GAINS TO REPORT, WE WOULD PERSIST. MRS. MARCOS THOUGHT THE RECORD WAS BETTER THAN THAT, BUT PROMPTLY SHIFTED GEARS TO LIBYA AND THE "SIMPLE, PLAIN QADHAFI, SURROUNDED BY COMMUNISTS." ACCORDING TO MRS. MARCOS, EVERYONE IN QADHAFI'S ENTOURAGE FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT DOWN, ESPECIALLY FOREIGN MINISTER ALI TURAYKI IS INTENSELY RUSSIAN ORIENTED. QADHAFI, SHE SAID, TOLD  
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HER DURING HER MOST RECENT VISIT TO TRIPOLI THAT HE WANTED TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE AMERICANS BUT CITED THE UNWILLINGNESS OF THE U.S. TO DELIVER C-130S FOR WHICH DOWN PAYMENTS HAD BEEN MADE AS EVIDENCE OF AMERICAN UNRESPONSIVENESS. HE EVEN PROMISED TO SEND HER A REPORT ON THE SUBJECT BUT HAS NOT DONE SO, WHICH SHE DID NOT FIND SURPRISING GIVEN THE CHARACTER OF HIS ADVISORS. IN

THIS REGARD, SHE NOTED THAT THOSE ADVISORS HAD ARRANGED FOR QADHAFI TO VISIT THE USSR PROMPTLY AFTER HER VISIT WHICH, SHE SUGGESTED, REPRESENTED THE EFFORT OF QADHAFI'S ADVISORS TO REINFORCE RUSSIAN INFLUENCE OVER HIM. SHE ADDED OMINOUSLY THAT IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE, THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR IN TRIPOLI AND ALI TURAYKI WERE CLOSETED FOR A LONG, "CLOSED DOOR MEETING" WITH MNLF LEADER NUR MISUARI.

3. CLOSER TO HOME, MRS. MARCOS EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE APPREHENSION AT LEFTIST INROADS AND LEANINGS IN MALAYSIA, AT THE MEETINGS STAGED IN KUALA LUMPUR BETWEEN ALI TURAYKI AND NUR MISUARI, AND AT THE REEMERGENCE OF TUN MUSTAPHA. WE ARE WATCHING ALL OF THIS VERY CLOSELY," SHE SAID, "AND CONSIDER THE MALAYSIAN TENDENCIES INCONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT OF ASEAN." TO THIS SHE ADDED A VAGUE REFERENCE TO SABAH AND THE PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION, WHICH I TOOK TO BE A RATIONALE FOR PRESIDENT MARCOS' FAILURE TO ABANDON THE PHILIPPINE CLAIM TO THAT TERRITORY. I EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE GOP WOULD NOT LET SUCH CONCERNS AS SHE HAD CITED INTERFERE WITH THE CONSTRUCTIVE EVOLUTION OF ASEAN.

4. AT HOME, MRS. MARCOS ALLUDED TO A SLOW BUT DANGEROUS RECENT GROWTH OF ANTI-AMERICANISM AMONG PHILIPPINE INTELLECTUALS, THE REAL INTELLECTUALS OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION AS SHE PUT IT. I OBSERVED THAT FILIPINOS HAVE TO BE TRUE TO THEMSELVES IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY, AND THAT WE COULD WORK WITH SUCH AUTHENTIC FILIPINOS. MRS. MARCOS FOLLOWED WITH AN INDIRECT DEFENSE OF MARTIAL LAW WHICH SHE

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PUT INTO THE MOUTHS OF PHILIPPINE BUSINESSMEN CLAMORING THAT THE PRESIDENT NOT FOLLOW HIS BENT TO "NORMALIZE" THE POLITY AND ABANDON MARTIAL LAW, ARGUING VEHEMENTLY THAT THE PRESIDENT NOT PERMIT AQUINO TO LEAVE FOR THE UNITED STATES WHERE HE WOULD JOIN MANG LAPUS IN BESMIRCHING THE PRESIDENT'S AND THE PHILIPPINES' IMAGE ACROSS THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF AMERICA. I VENTURED THE OPINION THAT THOSE IMAGES IN THE U.S. ARE NOT SO FRAIL THAT THEY CANNOT AFFORD THE VENTILATION OF OPEN DISCUSSION.

5. WHEN MRS. MARCOS ASSERTED THE PHILIPPINE INTEREST IN AND COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN NOW FAMILIAR LOFTY TERMS, I MENTIONED THAT I HAD AN ORAL MESSAGE FOR PRESIDENT MARCOS

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ACTION SS-25

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-----091009Z 129186 /15  
P 090833Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MANILA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 962

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MANILA 8971

EXDIS

FOR HOLBROOKE

FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE CONCERNING THE  
PRESIDENT'S RECENT SPEECHES ON HUMAN RIGHTS. MRS. MARCOS  
CLEARLY WAS VERY INTERESTED AND ASKED HOW HOLBROOKE HAD  
FOUND THE SPEECHES. I REPLIED, "INTERESTING AND ELOQUENT,"  
AND THAT I WAS LOOKING FORWARD TO PASSING THE SUBSTANCE  
OF HOLBROOKE'S REACTION TO THE PRESIDENT AT HIS CONVENIENCE.  
(MRS. MARCOS THEN SENT AN AIDE FOR THE PRESIDENT, BUT AS  
I HAD PREVIOUSLY ASCERTAINED, HE WAS NOT IN THE PALACE.)  
"FOR MY OWN PART," I TOLD MRS. MARCOS, "THE PRESIDENT HAS  
MADE A GOOD START WOWARD IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE  
OF THE PHILIPPINES BY HIS ELOQUENT STATEMENT OF CONCERN AND  
COMMITMENT, AND BY THE MOST RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT OF SEVERAL  
INTENDED SPECIFIC ACTIONS. NOW, I EMPHASIZED, "NOW IT IS  
IMPORTANT TO ASSURE THAT IN EACH INSTANCE THERE IS THOROUGH  
FOLLOW-UP IN DETAIL. FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRESIDENT HAVING  
ANNOUNCED THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES NOT CHARGED  
AS OF JUNE 3, IT IS NOW ESSENTIAL THAT THOSE DETAINEES IN  
FACT BE RELEASED, AND THIS HAVING BEEN DONE THAT THE FACT  
BE DEMONSTRATED UNMISTAKABLY AND PERSUASIVELY FOR THE  
BENEFIT OF EVEN THE MOST SKEPTICAL."

6. JUST AS I WAS BEGINNING TO CONGRATULATE MYSELF ON GETTING  
IN THIS PLUG FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, MRS. MARCOS MUSED, "I DON'T  
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KNOW IF THOSE DETAINEES SHOULD ALL BE RELEASED. THEY ARE  
A THREAT, TWISTED PERSONALITIES." AND SO IT GOES.

7. COMMENT: IN MY JUDGMENT MRS. MARCOS IS A CENTRAL,  
INTEGRAL PART OF THE MARCOS POWER COMBINE, A SUBSTANTIAL

AND OCCASIONALLY DOMINANT INFLUENCE AROUND THE PRESIDENT.  
IN SOME RESPECTS AN INSECURE PERSONALITY, I SUSPECT THAT  
SHE MAY SEE COMMUNISTS UNDER THE BED AND ENEMIES  
THREATENING ON THE LEFT AND RIGHT. SUCH PERCEPTIONS MAY  
WELL HAVE A BANEFUL EFFECT UPON THE CAUTIOUS PRESIDENT  
AND TEND TO INHIBIT CONCRETE FOLLOW THROUGH ON HUMAN  
RIGHTS ISSUES. ACCORDINGLY, WE CANNOT AFFORD TO NEGLECT  
THIS DISTAFF SIDE IN OUR HUMAN RIGHTS STRATEGY FOR THE  
PHILIPPINES.  
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**To:** STATE  
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